At other times they go to silly metaphorical extremes. For instance, the ministers are restrained by secular control from teaching their true beliefs. "Hence, it can be said that the greatest enemies of the ministers are the church boards and the lay bodies which are staffed by the community's political leaders." (267)

2.13/6

Similarly,

> All ministers emphasize the theological points that distinguish their doctrine from the others and highlight these differences as the badge of their church. Theology itself, then, becomes an organizational device for holding and recruiting members and, as such, it becomes a branch of administration. (253)

This is a curious statement on several counts. For one thing, it assumes that theology has not <u>previously</u> been "an organizational device for holding and recruiting members", a point which I am sure no shrewd church administrator would grant. And if that makes it a "branch of administration," then so is anything that maintains associational loyalties-- the flower bed that spells out a firm's initials, a pingpong table near the company cafeteria, or a company secretary's recurrent smile.

2.14/7

¶ But the account of the decay of religion goes to even greater, and more curious, lengths.

> There are some who, under these circumstances, have sufficient inner strength to be tolerant, kind and understanding. ... This is true of one minister and one teacher who both seem to understand the problems facing the community. ... The minister, then, is forced to provide a social religion to the public while he practices a religion for himself which he believes to be consistent with Christianity. (311)

The implication here is that the "social religion" that he serves up to his parishioners is <u>not</u> compatible with Christianity. This is the more remarkable if the minister is striving to lessen his own cognitive dissonance, as described.

At some times the pressure to make a point pushes the authors into plain misstatement:

ULT II

"The prosperous farmers dominate the school board. This is true not only because of the economic ascendancy of prosperous farmers but also because the major figure in invisible government, Howard Jones, while ostensibly representing the village, actually orients his policies to the prosperous farmers since it is to them that his economic fortunes are tied.

"As a consequence of this dominance a number of facts are explained. The curriculum of the central school reflects the needs of the farmers though these are not the needs of the student body. ..." (215-16)

(they leave the farm for industry: 179 cc)

They claim that it is "the needs" of farmers to have the agricultural courses taught. Yet if the youth go to work in factories as claimed, (179) it is "to their interest" about as much as A SAC needs to bomb Russia. Rather, the group's position determines a patterned advocacy. While thinkers of the left, espousing theories of elite ideology, often make clear the difference between these two things, Vidich and Bensman do not. A filter of concepts turns and tones the sense of need but these are always distinct from real ones.

¶ The interpretive colorations at times approach doublet-1k:

2,15/7

> In a sense, then, the opposition to the local leadership does not consist of dissident groups within the community but rather the whole trend of mass society which impinges on the local arena. In his attempts to deal with such larger trends in modern society, the hard-boiled realistic politician takes on as his adversary the major currents of change in modern society that affect the small town. Seen in this light, the political realists become genuine romanticists, and so it appears that it is precisely such romanticism which seems to keep the local society functioning regardless of the stresses and strains under which it operates. (282-3)

It is very enlightening to learn that finally and quintessentially these men are romantics. However, insofar as we still do not know whether the true realists are the World Federalists or the Pogo-for-President party, our enlightenment has not carried us very far, and perhaps we should wait to accept this new usage until the picture clears a little.

These may seem like captious, philosophical argumenta. But a sociological study is something to be taken literally, with its metaphors clearly circumscribed. If, as in this case, metaphor poses as stark fact, sociologists are going to have even more trouble at literal communication than we do at present, a development not to be welcomed.

RSCH PRCP

It will be remembered that the Veblen-Bergman ~~definition~~ notion of 'class,' above, ~~was~~ consisted of a cluster of attributes, unified by a central principle ...

Spheres [illegible] migrat[illegible]

[illegible] ideologica[illegible]

[illegible]

systems [illegible]

[illegible]

CONCEPT OF [illegible]

RSCH PROP

1 Their interesting models are cluster models of psychological reference systems

~~2 This is today's version of Hegel~~

2 HEGEL & DILTHEY investigated the 'perfection' or completion, or development, of ideas with powerful internal dynamic.

3 WEBER sought to ~~a~~ apply this kind of model to ~~the s~~ certain trends and coherences in the social world.

⇨ I WOULD MAINTAIN THAT HIS IDEAL TYPES WERE IN FACT INVESTIGATIONS ~~##~~ ~~##~~ 'hypnotized by the power of overorganized (highly organized) or ideas.

(⇨ THE CLUSTERS DO NOT necessarily ~~conform to~~ fall the way he drew them. E.g., collegial professionalism.)

4 THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT REFSYSTEM THEORY SHOULD STEER AWAY FROM ATTENTION TO THE ORGANIZATION OF REFERENCE CONCEPTS. Rather, it should realize that the organization of complex ideas is a <u>psychological</u> variable to which men respond; not, as Weber thought, an ontological property of the ideas themselves.

a. UNFOLD SCALING; GUTTMAN METHODS →

5 Let us not delve into the ontology of ideas. ~~Rather, let us take them as given:~~ Let me present ~~a~~ some nonmetaphysical* definitions of "idea," "principle" ~~"set of ideas"~~ and "idea-cluster," and then look for ways of operationalizing their effects upon people.

*In fact, philosophically quite unsatisfactory.

An idea is any element, thing, concept or item that can be thought or thought about.

A <u>principle</u> is ~~a unifying~~ an idea that may be used to unify other ideas in the mind. Thus if ~~it allows~~ an idea helps you to group two other ideas together, or ~~or~~ set out a string of ideas, it is such a principle. (Such a principle need not ~~be~~ uniquely determine the resultant grouping; for instance, at one moment you might use a given principle to

organize one set of ideas, A, at another moment a different set of ideas, B, which may or may not have elements in common with A.

An idea-cluster is a set of ideas which tend to stay together — that is, ~~to be associ~~ ~~all to increase toget~~ all jointly increasing their probability of association at the same time, or rapidly by an individual, tending to occur together in some context. ~~There may be or may not be unanimity among different people as to the contents of a g~~

~~The organization of an idea-cluster is~~
~~a set of the~~

The organization of an idea-cluster is the extent to which its elements are ~~organized~~ grouped by principles in a stable fashion.

NOTE THAT NONE OF THESE DEFINITIONS SPECIFIES EITHER ~~[illegible]~~ LOCUS, PERSONNEL OR EXTENT OF UNANIMITY. Thus the idea can be held by a person, ~~a Party~~ a dyad, a clique, a Party, a polity. It can be in a book which no living person has read. Highly similar ~~ideas can~~ idea-clusters can be ~~held by individuals, in a gr~~ shared by individuals even though the contents tend to differ. The ~~organizing~~ principles with which two persons organize ~~the same~~ the same idea-clusters with exactly the same contents, except for the organizing principles, may be entirely different.

LOOK AT CONVENTIONAL MEASURES OF ASSOCIATION, & PROPOUND SOME NEW ONES appropriate to cluster-agreement

COMMENTS ON THE SEMINAR

Organizational Measures.

The difference between the early "disorganized" meetings and the later "organized" ones was ~~to me indiscernible, except that in the latter~~ in my estimation fictitious, save that in the "organized" meetings the ~~would be ... interruptions~~ instructors would interrupt to say, "Well, that brings us to the next topic," which it had not.

#00591

But having regularly assigned papers on defined topics was, to my surprise, a very good thing. It helped me in my writing of them by supplying clear matters requiring research, while not being long enough to arouse ego-involvement and consequent resentment of the restrictions. More importantly, it raised my opinion of certain other members of the seminar from [illegible] contempt to ~~grave~~ extreme exasperation, thereby lowering my sense of departmental persecution relative to the other graduate students by about 20%. It was a shock to learn that people incapable of oral expression except by shibboleth and repetition, or of the aural reception of new ideas except from designated official sources, were in fact capable of writing clearly and literately. ~~sentences~~.

Happenings.

Not I feel I was not allowed to talk enough, and particularly with all the time that was wasted on recurrent pseudo-issues — "historical approach," "science versus humanism" — which I feel certain I could have cleared up in five minutes of uninterrupted explication. But it was evidently the will of the group that I not do so. Laumann and Efrat should also have been aided in saying more.

#00591

T[illegible]urrence of bizarre stand-taking by certain members of the seminar could well have been stopped; I have the feeling it was exaggerated by professorial baiting, but I could be wrong.

~~Clearly the instructors responded to special points rather than~~

Generalities.

I believe that the reading of primary sources is for the graduate student a waste of time, in fact a positive danger: the likelihood is high that he will find things in the material not included in the field's stereotype of the cited work, a kind of knowledge that will only work to his detriment on examinations.

The chief reason for such a seminar-- indeed of graduate school, it seems to me-- is not to engineer the meeting of minds, which in three years of graduate study I have never observed, but to let students hear professors say what they would never dare or deign to write down.

Hence I would advocate much more talking by the professors, of an ambulatory, unconnected, free-floating type, full of allusions, analogical ideas, and imprecise references to other people's work.

It was about an average seminar. It brought its problems along from the previous semester. It was too big. But the professors should have said much more anyhow.

3,166 ~~3,1[illegible]~~

~~CLASS (quit quits)~~ --

ULT II

! "Only" 6 out of 50 businessmen are investing capital. 53-4

Presumably in contrast to investing renewal. Not clear how it relates to profits. (instead of?)

This is some buoyancy.

! How many living off capital?

Power: is it really bad?

The blunting of Issues

& the quashing of enlightenment

ULTN (Another main point of book)

SPECIFICATION DOWN TO LOCAL UNITS which perverts (or, at best, blunts) the impact of enlightenment.

Eg. ~~sex education~~ → principal's reverse policy
ministers' secret enlightenment

VAB & Plainville: 2.6/2

A number of points of similarity appeared in connection with the associational groupings, particularly the school and churches. Schools in both towns are seen as being caught ~~with~~ (owing to pressures) with an inappropriate curriculum,) and ~~being~~ ~~[illegible]~~ and of ~~making~~ keeping their people vulnerable and exposed.

ULTN

Specifications of problems to local level that blunts them. RELIGION:
Ecumenicalism → No poaching (245²)
Missionarism → neighborliness (255³)

ULT — THE MINISTERS SECRETLY
[illegible] 234-5.

Walker, in Steeltown, quotes a minister as saying that he can reach more people by staying away from "issues" (223.)

An interest in the function of churches, and an emphasis on their part in the community even though ~~it~~ large numbers do not participate, are common to both books. Where Plainville emphasizes the competition among churches, and the sporadic migrations from denomination to denomination within the town, Vidich and Bensman lay great emphasis on the moratorium that prevents similar things from happening in Springdale.

Continual orientation toward city;
negative;
ambivalent → MAINTENANCE OF SYM. IMAGE

ULT II

GUILT OVER THE $ ADVANTAGES OVER THE CITY is another reason the village is driven to a sense of moral superiority.

Psychological adaptations: PERPETUAL MASS ~~CULTURE~~ SOCIETY ORIENTATION

ULT II

PERVASIVE REFRACT

Deep South found the whole of 'Southern' (THE CITY) life to be an enormous economic, psychic and symbolic conspiracy to keep the Negro in his place;
much as V&B find the whole of Spr. society an enormous adaptation to 'mass society,' with special attention to refract of the CITY.

ULT II

Lynds: (v. I)

THE INSINUATING INFLUENCES OF MASS SOCIETY INTRUDING AND RECEDING AT DIFFERENTIAL RATES, remaining to accrete as layers of local culture.

~~THE UNIFYING 'BOOSTER' IMAGES (BASKETBALL suppressed life)~~
~~THE DIRTINESS OF POLITICS~~

Though culture has somehow always been accretion,
more & more today we are

ALL ADAPT, ACCORDING TO THEIR CLASS...

ULT II

THE LIST OF 'SORRENDER OF ILLUSIONS' peculiar to each class.
299-301.

☆ ENUMERATE!

#005

TO FAILURE ...

To dissonance, discomfort, and, we must presume, Provincialism

ULT II — theme.

GIMMICKS TO MAKE LIVE LIVABLE BY BLUNTING HARSH REALITIES.

E.g. "SEPARATION OF GOSSIP FROM THE PUBLIC FRONT." 45

ULT II

Psycho-strategic approach
(discrete alternatives)
CLUSTERS

ULT II

Life-style & personal 'psychology'

→ viewed strategically that is, is the content of alternative choices, all of which they try to enumerate.

#005[illegible]

ULT II

PERSONAL ADAPTATIONS ARE TO ENVIRONMENTAL & ECONOMIC factors. 299-302
(Note 302)

Is this generally the Gerth-Mills' position?

#005[illegible]

The view of personal adjustments which Vidich and Bensman present, while it could be roughly associated with much of American sociology, seems to be most explicitly presented by Gerth and Mills.

ULT II

Gerth-Mills view
(overleaf on 'roles' & 'history')
— no mention of situations

"Most of the various interpersonal situations in which we are involved exist within institutions, which make up a social structure and changes of social structure make up the main course of human history. In order to understand men's conduct and experience we must reconstruct the historical social structure in which they play roles and acquire selves. For such regularity of conduct, and of the motives for this conduct, as we may find will rest upon the historical regulations of these social structures, rather than upon any suprahistorical, biological elements assumed to be innate and constant within the organism." (14) #00[illegible]

Lynds also: (v I)
the dirtiness of politics

ULT II

Middletown in Transition
added a new emphasis on "the X family," who ran Muncie.

ULT II

Also from Hunter (ch. 4)

SUMMONING OF 'UNDERSTRUCTURE' people to do legwork & lower admin.

ULT II

'Linking pin' function 271E
(this is FROM HUNTER?)
The central group: "Jones LP to successful Flint"
Palmer
Horlossman

'The rord sellout'

ULTT

Mid. in Depns. also very dramatically
tie in of cheapskate emph'd the
business ideology & finances & w/
probs at meeting
Relief. (Ch. 4)

Politics

ULT II   Another crux? B's italics.

ALL THINGS CHANGE EXCEPT THE POWER ELITE. Nice Q, 272[2]
(mainly ital. part)

#005

ULT II

Leaders do not have a "coldly and rationally derived calculus." 262[5] [-8]

ULT II

They claim 'psychological time' of group decision procedures beats 'class' or 'interest' analyses — after propounding just such analyses for town, village and school board.

They tell explicitly, though, to make this clear, ~~and~~ that these are "preliminary steps" toward a full account (210₋₃) and ~~to~~ there is an 'intricate structure of leadership and... techniques of domination" (211A). interviews

#005

ULT II

~~Mills, *Power Elite*, furnishes elaborations of the notion of centralized power. (Quote his own repudiation of the strong thesis? 25 C)~~

"The position generally associated with Mills' ~~...~~ might best be expressed..."

#005

ULT II

Chapter "The major dimensions of class" never (?) mentions dimensions; instead delineates 5 groups, 2 subgroups. ("Configurations" — p. 2, 512) (or anything else)

If they mean these to be dimensions of possible variation, they should certainly have a goodness-of-fit index.

ULT II

A footnote referring us to Weber, Prot. Ethic, (53) is about the only explanation [illegible] their psychological [illegible] of class.

ULT [illegible]

EXPECTED [illegible] SECTION (Classified systems) [illegible]

ULT 3

Dig Warner's first volume, Social Life of a Modern Community, for LIFE STYLE of the six classes

#00350

bIT2

~~Types~~ [illegible]

Warner: [illegible]

2.7/3

While Vidich and Bensman do not appear to share W. Lloyd's stratigraphic notion of social class, theymnowadopt best associated with the Yankee City studies, they do take his idea that different classes have different life-strategies.

(5)
ULT II

~~[illegible]~~
Broader local version of Protestant Ethic. — Middletown

Tarr's ec. self-misunderstanding. (e.g. natural gas.)

#00583

Warner,
LIFE-STRATEGIES

#00587

ULT II

THEY MAY BE LIKE MILLS; THEY'RE ALSO LIKE PARSONS

The attempt to codify the life-strategies with Keynesian economic functions (76³⁺) is reminiscent of the Parsonian shoehorn: that any similarity can be "ultimately" proven" to be an isomorphism.

#00583

STRONG POINTS

Image analysis

SEMI-INTERPRETIVE, 'INSIGHTFUL' ANALYSIS

BUT THEIR LITERARY FONDNESS TAKES THEM TOO FAR,
[illegible] VERBAL [illegible] POINT

'the rural surrender'
(which has no good meaning albeit ill-documented)

APPARENT CEK, IRADICATE [illegible]
TO POSSIBLE GRAVE MISINTERPRETS.

ULT II

Shrewd image analysis.

[illegible] Ichis → way of alluding to egalitarianism. 50.½

ULT II — What they're good at

Nice [illegible] of the image'
the [illegible] paragraph, 102-3

ULT II — (Example of semi-interpretive ~~weight~~ mass of book.)

"Basically, an historically indigenous local culture does not [illegible] exist. The cultural imports of [illegible] generation and the successive waves [illegible] ated with each combine to produce [illegible] consisting of layers or segments [illegible] culture of successive historical eras. The conflict between "spurious" and [illegible] culture appears to be a conflict between different ages of "spurious" culture [illegible] 86 [illegible]

ORIOUS:

ULT II

... disruptive economic thing. At every point.
... ultimate forces!
to be what one's worth.
42.

ULT II

Strange: ABILITY TO ADJUST OWN
... RATIO INDICATES
... MOBILITY! 60

Non sequitur:

sequitur

A defeat ... or is twisted in a way to make ... an advantage for the community ... Permitting the control [of] and peripheral and ... or the state-supported ... life" 295

... STICK THE ...

ULT II ... apparent contraposition

... are "minimized" ~~[illegible]~~ so that "few items of business outside of routine and legally required ... over ... the decisionmaking stage." ~~Yet~~ ... The careful observer will note that ... of formal voting ... been made." 114

ULTπ

[illegible]

"To all intents and purposes the village, the [illegible] the shack people, the workers and [illegible] are disenfranchised." 21,B

[illegible]. James Lee won the [illegible] close in the election.

ULT π

Absurd

[illegible]

"[illegible] it can be said that the greatest [illegible] are the church boards and the lay bodies which are staffed by the community's [illegible]." 267[1]

ULTπ

METAPHORICAL

[illegible] INTERPRETING EXTREME:

"All ministers emphasize the theological points that distinguish their doctrine from the others and highlight these differences as the badge of their church. Theology itself then, [illegible] an organizational device for [illegible] recruiting members and as [illegible] becomes a branch of administration."

[illegible]

13, 15/9

4,13

Criticisms.

I feel called upon to criticize Small Town in Mass Society where possible by internal criteria: to look for inconsistencies or exaggerations of emphasis that overdraw the evidence cited.

2,9/4

The intermittently very subtle writing of Small Town is a mixed blessing.

At its best, for example in the analysis of certain "images," it is shrewd, insightful and clear:

E.g., 'Folks' is a way of alluding to egalitarianism.

> The self-designation as 'folk' includes everyone in the community; by its generality of reference it excludes neither the rich nor the poor, for everyone can share equally in the genuine qualities ascribed by the term. ... To be one of the folks requires neither money, status, family background, learning, nor refined manners. It is, in short, a way of referring to the equalitarianism of rural life. (29-30)

Similarly, there is some semi-interpretive analysis of a most insightful kind, with which very few could quibble:

> Separate urban images exist for the various segments which epitomize the rural community. The farmer is strong, self-reliant and capable. He is warm, affectionate and devoted but these characteristics are frequently hidden under a crusty, gruff exterior. He is a good businessman and a sharp trader capable in the final analysis of outwitting others, especially the city slicker. Outside of a few old gossips, community life is richly warm and filled with a wide variety of social interchange, gatherings and genuinely spontaneous self-expression. The rural dweller is religious, moral and upright, though capable of "cutting-up" in a way which is both amusing and tolerable. The villains, the sharp-dealers, the frauds, when not urban types, exist in order to provide the protagonist and the community with an effective demonstration of its values in action. (102-3)

Unfortunately, this same guile of literary exposition is, as generally recognized, a temptation. It is a legend in the social sciences that facile and imaginative

2,10/4

"interpretation" can rationalize any data and oil away any inconsistencies. Of course this is not so. But subtle writing can retreat too subtly into mere canny assertion, ceasing to offer particular foundations for argument, but retaining the echo of doing so. As an example For instance, after offering some figures on migration, and the unelaborated point that fads and fashions pass through the town, the authors then feel qualified to say

> "Basically, an historically indigenous local culture does not seem to exist. The cultural imports of each decade and generation and the successive waves of migration associated with each combine to produce a local culture consisting of layers or segments of the mass culture of successive historical eras. ... The conflict between 'spurious' and 'genuine' culture appears to be a conflict between two different ages of 'spurious' culture." (86)

2,11/5

¶ There are other lacunae in the exposition.

Often interpretive or descriptive non sequiturs break the logical flow, if not the prose.

For instance, ~~Similarly,~~ Vidich and Bensman appear to underline the same point with two contradictory items of evidence: first, decisions by the village board are "minimized" ~~(leaving them prey to settlement by machinations of the invisible government, so that "few~~ so that "few items of business outside of routine and legally required action ever reach the decision-making stage" (112,)

2,12/5

(Thus the issues are left prey to settlement by the machinations of the invisible government.) Yet "The careful observer will note that even in the absense of formal voting several decisions have been made." (114)

Presumably this shows how brazen the invisible government really is, allowing itself to be observed in this manner.

A number of overdrawn points, scattered through the text, occasionally extend themselves into apparent contradictions and grave misinterpretations, in this reviewer's opinion.

For example, the intrusion of an economic tinge into many summary descriptions. Thus through gossip

> One learns about domestic discords, sexual aberrations, family skeletons, ill-gained wealth, feuds, spite fences, black sheep, criminal records and alcoholism. The major preoccupation, hoaever, is reserved for "what he's worth" in the strictly monetary and material meaning of the expression. (42)

Again, the fact that doctors and lawyers can set their own hours, which makes them seem independent, somehow indicates ~~their relation to economic mobility.~~ that they are really tied closely ~~than apparent~~ to the status ladder, ~~in other words, the consumption of leisure is an indication of un-~~

> Their self-determination of their work/leisure ratio to accomodate for leisure, is a decision which partly reveals their psychological orientation to economic mobility. (60)

In other words, the consumption of leisure is an indication of unrest.